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THE WORLD TOMORROW

THE ARMS INDUSTRY
AN APPRAISAL
H. C. Engelbrecht

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

Coöperatives Come Through
Oscar Cooley

The League in Decay
H. N. Brailsford

THE HIGHER NATIONALISM
Pearl S. Buck

DECEMBER 7th 33

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Ex Cathedra

THE revolt of the bankers against Roosevelt's policy of semi-inflation is interesting because it can render itself plausible even though it is prompted by motives of pure self-interest. No nation can emerge from the depression if it cannot ease the debt burden which swallows up roughly one-half of the national income and which has been tremendously increased by the fall in the price level. Either debts must be cancelled or prices must be raised. Raising prices is, in fact, a form of cancelling debts, but it is a very unscientific method, and the bankers can make the most of that. They do not add that they would be even more vehemently opposed to a capital levy or to debt cancellation than they are to inflation.

The fact is that inflation is an almost inevitable policy for such a liberal government as Roosevelt has constructed. The Government is astute enough to know that the depression cannot be overcome if purchasing power is not increased, and that the purchasing power of the masses cannot be increased as long as interest on bonds and mortgages absorbs as much of the national income as is now the case. It therefore chooses inflation as a way out. It could choose the method of cancelling debts only if it had its source of power more unambiguously in the political organizations of the dispossessed. Since these organizations are small, anarchic and divided, and since the dispossessed farmers still believe that inflation is a sufficient palliative, it is natural that the Administration should not go beyond these demands for inflation.

The fact that the Roosevelt government has tried and is still trying to find a form of inflation which will not obviously debase the currency and will yet raise prices is proof, on the one hand, of the tactical skill of Roosevelt in immediate situations, and on the other hand, of his desire to prevent complete alienation of the banking interests while he is placating the dispossessed. The storm of protest which his policies are meeting in the financial communities will probably convince him before long that he has already lost the good will of the vested interests beyond recall and that political safety lies in going further to the left rather than retreating to the right. The fury of the bankers against Roosevelt is incidentally a vivid illustration of the shortsightedness of self-interest. It has always been the tendency of imperiled wealth and power to scorn the compromisers and mediators who tried to save some vestige of former power and glory for the privileged against the relentless logic of history. If those who mediate in the critical periods of history understood this more fully, they might better understand the peril of the middle ground.

ALL the indications are that Roosevelt is endowed with very acute political instincts and that underneath his genial exterior there is a very resolute will to power. It is probable, therefore, that he will tend to the left as the bankers forsake him. That means that he may undertake more inflation than he is now willing to accept. It does not mean that he will dare to question any of the basic presuppositions of capitalism. That would be difficult from the standpoint of his own inherited convictions, and it would be still more difficult politically since there is no strong political group in the country which challenges capitalism. Such movements are not fashioned by politicians who are interested in the maintenance of power. They are created by those who have a long view of history and are willing to go into the wilderness that someone else may come into the promised land.

If the time is not yet ripe it soon will be for the formation of a political party which will weld the discontent of the dispossessed into a real political instrument. Such a party needs a strategy and a philosophy which will unite the disinherited farmer with the dispossessed of the cities, a task which radical parties of the city have thus far failed to accomplish. The task is difficult but not impossible. If it fails, further disintegration of the present system will result in fascist reconstructions of the dying system.

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THE
WORLD TOMORROW

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Hitler's French Policy

The interview which Chancellor Hitler gave to a French journalist, in which he declared that Germany would have no source of friction with France once the Saar valley was returned to Germany, may do a good deal to quiet French nerves and may actually result in a policy of rapprochement. This does not mean that there are not ominous and militaristic features in the Hitler regime nor that its threats and challenges may not ultimately make for war. But it reveals a side of German nationalism which has not been sufficiently considered by the enemies of Germany.

The German conception of the racial state may make for excessive nationalism, but if logically carried out it does not make for imperialism. Political objectives are not always logical, but it is well to remember that there are fanatic Fascists in Germany who insist that a German racial state must and will offer Poles and Frenchmen the security of not threatening any territory which is indubitably other than German. Of course such an assurance does not solve the problem of the corridor in Poland nor eliminate the threat against Austria and Czechoslovakia, where there are millions of Germans who ought to be incorporated into a German state according to Nazi logic. The threat of war is there but there are qualifications upon it which the careful student of contemporary history would do well to consider.

The Church Storm in Germany

It is becoming increasingly apparent that Chancellor Hitler is facing the most serious opposition for his totalitarian state in the Protestant and Catholic churches of Germany. The Protestant opposition is for the moment most vociferous. Many elements enter it. No doubt a certain degree of church opposition to Hitler is prompted by conservative political interests which are using the church to defend political ideas of the type of Hugenberg's suppressed policies. Some of the opposition is directed against the effort to exclude the few Jewish Christians now in the Lutheran church from membership; but it must not be assumed that this opposition implies general disapproval of the anti-Semitism of the state. Another factor in the opposition lies in a very honest and a very stubborn religious motive. The Lutheran church is not interested in politics, but it does have a very fanatic zeal for the freedom of the church in the exercise of its purely religious function. It believes that the German Christians threaten the integrity of Lutheran doctrine, and it will fight for the purity of its religious life with more fanatic zeal than some of the political opponents of Hitlerism. The fact that such a motive should produce such zeal may be instructive to those who have regarded religion as completely moribund in our day.

Fortunately the church protestants have an advantage in their fight. They are opposed by Bishop Hossenfelder, leader of the fanatic Tuetonizers of the church, a man so unscrupulous and so completely bereft of every grace that his words and actions constantly drive adherents of his cause into the ranks of the opposition. It would be interesting, after everything that radicals have said about the church in general and the German church in particular, if the latter should prove to have more resources for a stubborn resistance to a tyrannical state than the purely political forces have shown.

Will Roosevelt Wreck Cuba?

It appears to be a fatal talent of the Roosevelt foreign policy to mean extremely well and to be extremely wrong. This dual capacity was revealed at the World Economic Conference; in advance, by disclaiming all interest in discussing the central issues of currency, exchange, tariffs, and quotas, it has well-nigh wrecked the Montevideo Congress; and it now bids fair to do the same with Cuba.

In announcing that Mr. Sumner Welles will soon return to the State Department, President Roosevelt takes open cognizance of the fact that Mr. Welles' usefulness in Havana long since came to an end. For Mr. Welles was not content merely to get rid of Machado; he went ahead to create the government of De Cespedes, hailed as President Roosevelt's personal friend. Thwarted in this program by the popular *coup d'état* which gave power to the government of Grau San Martin, he then more or less openly associated himself with disgruntled elements, many of them conservative, opposed to President Grau; and by his own unquestioned opposition, gave the violent rebels reason to feel that in their efforts to oust the Grau regime they had, if not a friend, one whose opposition lent a respectable countenance to their efforts. Thus the Roosevelt stubborness is unquestionably responsible in some degree for the lives lost in the recent Cuban uprisings. Delayed recognition in this case has made it harder

for Grau to pay his troops, thereby exaggerating the danger of revolution by small groups of malcontents with no program for the country. It further protracts the economic uncertainty which is the worst enemy of the island republic.

To contend that recognition cannot be granted because of the fact that Grau came to power by a violent governmental overturn is entirely to overlook the fact that Welles' pet, De Cespedes, came to power by an illegal overturn far more violent but also far less promising of progress. It becomes clearer every day that the President means to improve our relations with Cuba, but is still bound to the same interests here and in Cuba which have hitherto exploited the Cuban masses. Intervention by force is bad, and fortunately has been avoided; but there are other forms of intervention which can be at times almost equally obnoxious.

Hence it is scarcely enough to announce that Jefferson Caffery is to go to Cuba as an "observer," and that President Roosevelt is waiting for a government which will find unified support among all elements. Mr. Welles should not return at all; Mr. Caffery should go as an ambassador to a recognized regime which, shortcomings notwithstanding, is still popular and in the main deservedly so; and President Roosevelt, caught in the midst of a vast disunity at home over his monetary policies, should not attempt to insist upon standards of harmony in Cuba so far beyond our own.

Salaries, Incomes, Bequests

There has been much commotion recently concerning excessive salaries paid to executives of great corporations. The Federal government is insisting that loans will not be made by the R. F. C. unless the top salary is fixed at $60,000 or less. Stockholders in general are indignant over the practice of passing dividends while corporation officials continue to receive handsome salaries.

For some significant reason, however, little complaint is being made about huge incomes from investments and other non-salary services. Mr. Wiggin's exorbitant salary constituted only a small fraction of his total income, and he was by no means one of the nation's richest citizens. The country at large continues to strain at the gnats of $100,000 incomes, while swallowing the camels of $1,000,000 and $10,000,000 incomes. As a matter of fact, large salaries are far more justifiable than are huge incomes from investments or speculation.

But fat incomes on the part of financiers and industrialists are more defensible than are bequests of vast fortunes to the heirs of rich men. A case in point has been receiving wide publicity during recent weeks. It appears that Miss Doris Duke, upon reaching the age of 21, has come into possession of one-third of a legacy estimated originally at 53 million dollars, and now diminished to 30 millions. Her New York City home is valued at a million and a half, and offers her the personal attention of 16 servants. Across the Hudson she owns a New Jersey estate of 5,000 acres. She also possesses a castle in Newport and a valuable estate in North Carolina. The most expensive suites in the world's hotels and ocean liners are at her disposal. Significant testimony as to the power of financiers over education is furnished by the fact that Miss Duke inherited a trusteeship of Duke University, lavishly endowed by her father.

In a land of destitution and misery, what justification is there for the practice of permitting rich parents to pass on millions of dollars to their children? Through the device of the inheritance tax it is possible to fix the maximum size of bequests at $100,000, or at any other figure set by the peoples' legislators. Sooner or later this drastic restriction of inheritance will be regarded as imperative. Why not sooner rather than later?

Conscience and the Courts

On August 3, 1922, Rebecca Shelley, a native-born American, married an alien and thereby lost her citizenship, in accordance with the old law whereby women were automatically expatriated or took the citizenship of their husbands. On September 22, 1922, this old law was repealed. The Cable Act which superceded it provided for the repatriation of this class of women. On May 29, 1931, Miss Shelley (who kept her own name after her marriage) appeared before Judge Blaine W. Hatch, in the Calhoun County Naturalization Court, at Marshall, Michigan, with a petition for repatriation. Upon her statement that she was a conscientious objector to war, she was denied citizenship. She had no intention of precipitating a public controversy and probably would not have gone to the Naturalization Court at all had not Judge Hatch told her a few weeks before that he did not think that pacifist convictions should bar a native-born American woman from citizenship. But when she came to the Naturalization Court with her two witnesses, she found a different attitude. In the meantime the Bland-Macintosh decisions had been handed down. These decisions indicated to the judge that the promise to bear arms was inextricably interwoven with the oath of allegiance, and he felt that he must administer it impartially to all candidates for naturalization. In 1932 the Detroit Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) took steps to organize support for the case. A national committee was formed and legal counsel secured, to carry the matter to the United States Supreme Court if necessary.

On June 5, 1933, the case was transferred to the Federal District Court at Detroit, and June 12 was

set as the date of the new hearing. A unique and comprehensive session was arranged, with Jane Addams as the first witness and the status of the native-born conscientious objector to war as the chief point at issue. But two days before the hearing was to take place, the Commissioner of Naturalization at Washington asked for an adjournment to give the Government more time to look into the files and facts of the case, since they regarded it as a special matter. Miss Shelley's attorneys were unwilling to postpone the hearing in view of the important witnesses already in Detroit or on the way, but consented to the adjournment on the assurance of the Government that their object in asking for more time was to do justice to their client, the new Secretary of the Department of Labor having initiated a more liberal policy. Recently the Department of Naturalization returned the files in the case to the Detroit office without recommendation and asked for a judicial determination. The new hearing will soon take place before Judge Ernest A. O'Brien.

Some pacifists and war-resisters doubt that a favorable decision in a woman's case originating in sex discrimination would have any effect on the status of male conscientious objectors; but the fact is that the Supreme Court, in the Schwimmer, and also in the Bland case, made no distinction between the military obligations of men and women. The Bland decision tended not only to nullify the right of a religious person to claim conscientious scruples against war, but also to sweep away the constitutional immunity of women from military service. A favorable decision in this case would have a bearing upon native-born male war resisters, especially since Miss Shelley takes an absolutely uncompromising stand and is to be classified as a war-resister as well as a conscientious objector. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this case will be carried to the Supreme Court if such action is necessary to restore Miss Shelley to citizenship. It would be inexcusable for peace workers to acquiesce in the face of judicial suppression of the right of conscientious objection to all war. Public opinion must be aroused and, if necessary, remedial legislation enacted.

Indian Affairs

The almost complete absence in our newspapers at present of any reference to India must not be taken to mean that there are no new developments in the Indian situation. Letters recently received from friends there state that a tour was being arranged for Gandhi over most of India in the interest of the anti-untouchability movement. Such a tour would give great impetus to that reform, which is already proceeding with great power and effect. The weekly Indian paper *Harijan,* devoted to the cause of the "untouchables," reports steady progress.

In the political field there has been a new Swarajia party formed from the right-wing Congress elements who differed from Gandhi's program last summer. The leader of this group, who had been a government-nominated delegate to the Round Table Conferences, is to all intents a Moderate; and the secession of such people from the Congress will not weaken but rather strengthen it. Presumably the remainder of the Congress are, under Gandhi's guidance, reforming their ranks, strengthening their morale, solidifying their following among the masses by various forms of non-political constructive work, and preparing for another effort when the time is ripe.

Meanwhile, in England, the Government's plans for a new constitution do not find easy going. The Joint Parliamentary Committee find that the losses of revenue and the additional expenses of setting up the proposed new Federation will be so great that nobody can see any definite date when Indian revenues can possibly meet the enhanced expenses proposed. Nevertheless, the Committee continues to go through the motions of solemn deliberation. Under the most favorable circumstances there is no possibility that the new constitution will go into effect for another two years. There is even a chance that the White Paper proposals may never even be passed by Parliament. It is true that at the October meeting of the Conservative Party the Government policy was upheld by a large majority, but the opposition within the party gained appreciably since last June, when a vote on the question was taken, and at the October meeting there were many abstentions from voting. The delays and uncertainties are undermining the hopes of Indian Moderates and serve to prepare the way for another revolt.

Meanwhile a significant statement was made by Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Prime Minister of Mysore, in his address to the Mysore Representative Assembly on September 30, when he declared: "And here I am tempted to say that there is one man above all others who can help us toward a reconciliation of our difficulties, and toward that new phase of character that is the groundwork of self-government. I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics. There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader, and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover of peace and an ardent patriot, but also a far-seeing, sagacious statesman. I feel that he is qualified far better than anyone else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together to a further stage along the road that leads to self-government. He also has it in his power, as no one else has, to establish the happiest relations between India and Great Britain."

These remarks are highly significant, for they were

made within two weeks after Gandhi had stated publicly that the Indian Princes must give up much of their power. Of all the Indian States, Mysore is second in population and size, and it is probably the most progressive of all the States. Furthermore, Sir Mirza M. Ismail is a Moslem. His statement seems to indicate encouragement from a most unexpected quarter of a movement toward Indian unity built around the Congress leader. Within a year we may see dramatic developments.

The British Tories

The Tory government of England, hiding behind the facade of a "National Government" constructed by Ramsay MacDonald, is having increasing difficulties. It is losing one by-election after another. Recently a constituency returned a Labor candidate with a larger majority than the peak figure of 1929. It is interesting that international problems are bulking heavily in the election propaganda and that the most telling argument against the Tories has been the charge that they have failed to coöperate fully in achieving disarmament.

The British public is probably more definitely interested in averting the danger of war in Europe than any other national public. It is closer to the scene than we are and not so involved in the hysterias of the continent that it cannot see more clearly than the continental countries what must be the final tragic consequence of another international conflict. Combined with the genuine pacifism of a large part of the British public there is also the politically realistic feeling that another war would be the end of the British Empire. The delicate tensions and balances of the Empire would break under the impact of another conflict. So strong is the peace sentiment of Britain that it will probably be difficult, if not impossible, to draw her into another war, should one break out. That is a rather important fact, for it may prevent a continental conflict from becoming a world conflagration.

After the Social Gospel?

There has been no time in the past half century when a message from the Christian church was as desperately needed as it is today. At no time in that period has the voice of the church in its social conviction been as uncertain, as incoherent, as self-contradictory as it is at this hour.

Of the world's need for such a message none will feel the slightest question. But it is equally clear that profound changes are taking place in the church's social message. No one can have failed to note the deepening uncertainty about it—what it is, what it means in terms of scientific measures, how it is to be made effective in the life of society. The disillusionment which dogs every aspect of modern life has breathed its withering fog across the social vision of Christianity. The doubt which raises an insistent question-mark before every presupposition of nineteenth-century liberalism is challenging the social ideals and programs of the churches. Confidence in the adequacy and efficacy of the social message of Christianity is crumbling. It is conceded to have served its day—courageously, sincerely, usefully. Our debt to it is great. But it will no longer do.

It is clear that we are witnessing the disintegration of the traditional Social Gospel—the gospel which has claimed the intense devotion of the finest leaders, and the nominal assent of the entire church for a quarter of a century. The most significant fact is that the movement is twofold. The disintegration is being hastened by a double catalysis—external attack and desertion within.

Among the recognized spokesmen of the social message of Christianity there is rather more uncertainty, more confusion, more distrust of the traditional message than among its critics. The former are no longer sure of the ideals and assumptions and proposals which have been fundamental and unquestioned axioms among them for three decades. They query whether religion may not be impotent to battle the ills of man's corporate life and to effect social transformation, even if it be not a positive narcotic as communism claims. They doubt the efficacy of love as a solvent of social injustice. They question the social significance of the church. They are increasingly critical of those who preach mainly personal righteousness; may they not be the unwitting props of an outlawed structure, clothed in the robes of pious self-deception? They feel themselves under constantly heightened pressure from secular social philosophies which demand their allegiance—philosophies not so easily translated into Christian terms as was the idealistic liberalism which inspired the early formulation of their social gospel. Above all, they find themselves turning more and more to secular political programs rather than to the professed ideals of Christianity for their message, and to secular social reformers rather than to fellow-Christians for leadership and comradeship in their social efforts.

Meantime, throughout the church, there is a mounting distrust of its own leadership. Men whose interpretation of social Christianity won ready acclaim five years ago confront scepticism, criticism, hostility; their general influence as well as their personal popularity among fellow-churchmen is waning month by month. The old query has been resurrected and is being pressed anew—whether Christian leaders can be trusted to meddle in essentially political and economic questions.

The social influence of Christianity stands in critical crisis. By social reformers the validity and value of religion is being challenged afresh. By practicing Christians the wisdom and leadership of social enthusi-

asts is being severely questioned today. This is the setting in which the church's relation to public issues must be faced. The moral is clear: Of all the tasks clamant for immediate attention, by all odds the most urgent and imperative is the radical reorientation of Christianity's social mission and message.

If Secretary Dern Is Correct

Secretary of War Dern, in his address on Armistice Day at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, made an amazing confession for an official in his position:

> There has been much dispute as to who won the war. The plain fact is that nobody won. Everybody lost. The war was purely negative in character and the cost was ruinous. In a prolonged modern war both sides in ultimate results are bound to lose.

Everybody lost! The United States lost the World War! Who can doubt the accuracy of this observation in the light of the costs and consequences of our participation in that insane conflict? Our losses in man-power were vastly greater than the number of our citizens who would have been killed by submarines if we had refrained from entering the war, and our financial expenditures were incomparably heavier than would have been the value of our property destroyed by the illegal use of German submarines.

Not only was our participation in the war a vain effort to protect property and life, but our entrance probably prolonged the conflict for at least a full year. Evidence now available indicates the strong likelihood that the war would have ended as a draw early in 1916 were it not for the encouragement given to the Allies by a statement signed by Colonel House, and initialed by Woodrow Wilson, that we would probably become a belligerent on their side. If peace had come without victory, and had been followed by a negotiated, instead of a dictated, treaty, there is abundant reason to believe that the entire earth would now be more tranquil and prosperous. That the entrance of the United States into the World War constituted the most ghastly blunder in our entire history is now widely recognized.

And it would have been so easy to have stayed out of the war. If Secretary Bryan's advice had been followed and American citizens had been warned that if they went into the war zone, or sent their commodities into the blockaded area, they would do so at their own risk, we could have escaped illimitable losses. Not only did our soldiers die in vain, but the conscription of their lives enormously increased the insecurity of the American people.

But an even greater tragedy is found in the furious preparations now being made for further warfare. In any future war between major powers "both sides are bound to lose," and if the United States staggers into another big war, the sacrifices of our young men will be as needless, useless and calamitous as were the sacrifices of their fathers in the World War. Continued reliance upon armaments means sheer suicide.

While Others Are Armed

In spite of Secretary Dern's insistence that everybody lost the World War, he makes a vigorous plea for armed preparedness. As a realist, he recognizes the advantage of disarmament if all nations would act simultaneously. But as a nationalist, he repeats the hoary warning against disarmament by a single power:

> There is no use talking to a sensible people about disarmament while the rest of the world remains armed to the teeth. Moreover, we must be practical enough to remember that economic relations are actually at the bottom of nearly all international disputes, and if economic conditions cannot be stabilized, peace cannot be stabilized either.

The conclusions reached by the Secretary of War when summarized, assume this form:

1. Everybody lost the World War.

2. In a future war between great powers both sides are bound to lose.

3. Therefore, disarmament is imperatively demanded.

4. But, if other nations continue the suicidal policy of relying upon armaments, no sensible people can do otherwise.

The fallacy underlying this argument is found in the assumption that this country would be invaded and exploited if we should disarm while other nations remain armed. In spite of propaganda to the extent of millions of words, the United States would not have been invaded if we had stayed out of the World War. And, notwithstanding additional millions of words from advocates of preparedness, there is no basis for the fear that our shores would be invaded if we disarmed and put our trust in pacific methods of handling economic controversies with other nations. The risk of disarmament by example is infinitesimal as contrasted with the supreme menace of continued dependence upon armaments. Really sensible people would refuse to participate in a race along the brink of a precipice where winners and losers alike are destined to plunge to their doom.

Editorial Announcement

Because Paul H. Douglas has accepted responsibility in Washington as Director of the Bureau of Economic Information, it is necessary for him to retire temporarily as Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW. He is, however, continuing as a Contributing Editor. Professor Douglas will spend two days each week at the University of Chicago and five days in Washington building up Consumers' Councils across the continent and interpreting governmental policies to the public.

Coöperatives Come Through

OSCAR COOLEY

WHEN cotton is being plowed under, pigs slaughtered to be dumped in the river, milk emptied in the highways, crop acreages deliberately cut down—all at the cost of the consumer, who through "processing taxes" is being forced by government authority to pay the producer for reducing or destroying production—it is time to ask: What of the consumer? What is he doing for himself, since his government seems so little disposed to do anything for him?

The consumer has but one organization which he can call his own: the consumers' coöperative movement. Consumers' coöperation is not greatly developed in the United States as compared with European countries. The Coöperative League, with headquarters in New York City, has approximately 600 affiliated societies and there are some 4,000 other coöperative societies of various types throughout the country. According to figures of the late Federal Farm Board, 392,000 farmers belong to consumers' coöperative associations; the number of organized urban consumers is probably somewhat less. The credit unions embrace 300,000 consumers of personal credit, according to the Credit Union National Extension Bureau. Britain, on the other hand, has six and a half million members of cooperative societies. One society alone, that in London, numbers over 460,000 members. The International Coöperative Alliance reports a total of over 90 million coöperators in 41 countries. What are these organized consumers doing to withstand the assaults of special producer interests, and the acts of governments which seem more disposed to serve these special interests than the universal consumer interests?

Depending as coöperation does upon the voluntary union of consumers for the conduct of industry to produce goods for their own use only, upon the acquirement of capital by the pooling of workingmen's savings, and upon the training of technicians from among their own number, the movement does not advance by leaps and bounds, or even strides, but by steps, carefully chosen and seldom retracted. These steps are seldom spectacular. Our purpose here is to review briefly such forward steps as have been taken by the coöperative movement, in the United States and abroad, since the depression set in.

Except in a few localities, coöperative membership is increasing little. In the United Kingdom, where it is oldest and most strongly entrenched, the gain is slow but steady. Some members have dropped out, at least temporarily, because of the need of withdrawing their share money for spending purposes. Such withdrawals have been forced by the "means test," a feature of the dole. These losses have been more than made up by the constant, almost automatic, adding of members by the traditional method of applying non-members' purchase dividends to payment for shares, and by propaganda. The latter method is being used with marked science and success by such societies as London. The constant extension of new services, e.g., bus lines, milk distribution, and convalescent homes, is another magnet for attracting new members.

Much the same may be said of the movement on the continent. In Soviet Russia, which now claims 73 million members, it is practically a necessity for every working-class consumer to be a coöperator, since the distribution of nearly all consumers' goods is delegated to the coöperatives. Voluntary coöperation, it is claimed by some, does not exist in Russia. Considering the extent of government restriction on business, coöperative and otherwise, in other countries, it is perhaps not incorrect to say that voluntarism everywhere is a matter of degree.

THE chief membership gains in the United States are being made by farmers' coöperatives. (Here we are considering only the purchasing, not marketing, associations.) Rapid gains, impossible to tabulate, are being made by coöperative oil associations, largely in the Middle and North Western states. The year 1933 saw the first oil coöperative founded among urban consumers in the heart of a large city, namely, Minneapolis. It is yet too early to predict a further urban development on the basis of the success of this project. One eastern coöperative, the Eastern States Farmers Exchange, reports over 5,000 new members in the first six months of 1933. In general, the urban societies are gaining little if at all. One of the largest, the Franklin Coöperative Creamery Association of Minneapolis, has lost slightly, largely because its shares are $100 each, a substantial sum for a working man who may be earning nothing, and almost surely is earning less than he formerly received, to have tied up in a coöperative from which he may purchase only a bottle of milk daily. A move is being made to reduce the cost of Franklin shares.

The volume of coöperative trade has naturally felt the effect of the reduced purchasing power of consumers. Up to the end of 1931, at least, tonnage volume, both here and abroad, increased or held its own, with dollar volume less, due to falling prices. In 1932 even tonnage fell off. However, many farmers' asso-

ciations, both east and west, have shown steady increases throughout the depression, in spite of the much harped-upon distress of the farmer.

Coöperation shows no tendency to depart from its traditional, well-defined technique, namely, the gradual extension of ownership and control of industry by consumers through their coöperative societies. The traditional Rochdale principles—one man, one vote, limited return on capital, return of net earnings to consumer-members according to their purchases—still prevail, having amply proved their soundness in practice. New departures and schemes destined to cooperatize the world in short order are not to be expected, and are to be distrusted when encountered.

IN the period under review the British movement has extended itself notably in milk distribution. One-seventh of all fluid milk consumed in England and Wales is coöperatively handled. The coöperatives have championed pasteurization for the better protection of consumers; the profit traders prefer that the public drink its milk raw. The coöperatives now have one-fifth of the nation's grocery, bread and confectionery trade, one-seventh of the coal trade, and other necessity lines in proportion. So far have the wholesale societies gone in production that practically anywhere in the kingdom, in city or hamlet, one may purchase the following goods and know that they are cooperative productions: flour, jam, biscuits, tea, lard, margarine, soap, furniture, galvanized ware, clothing, shoes, drugs, bicycles.

In Sweden, where the movement is younger but more aggressive than in Britain, two major productive units have been lately opened, the Luma electric lamp factory in 1931 and the Viskafors rubber plant in 1933. Luma is a joint enterprise of the coöperative wholesales of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. It has a capacity of 5,000 bulbs per day. The high prices enforced by the European lamp cartel, Phoebus, controlled by the American General Electric Company, spurred the Scandinavian coöperators, never slow to challenge trusts, to build Luma. The result—even before the factory was finished—was a substantial drop in lamp prices. Luma finished its first, mid-depression year with a net surplus of £6,000. Viskafors is the second rubber plant of the Swedish movement. The first, at Gislaved, was purchased in 1927. Together they give the Swedish coöperators control of one-third of the nation's rubber industry. There are 450,000 coöperators in Sweden, representing about one-third of the total number of families. In Finland the coöperative wholesale, O.T.K., in 1933 finished and opened a modern ten-story headquarters building in Helsingfors.

The coöperative system of Soviet Russia is taking over more and more of the functions of cattle and pig raising and truck gardening. The increase in the output of vegetables, including potatoes, in 1932 over that of 1931 was 185 per cent. The total retail turnover in all lines increased 21 per cent. The increase in the bakeries was 30 per cent, and in the dining rooms 48 per cent.

TO return to America, we find the farmers' associations again in the lead. Coöperative oil and gas distribution, steadily growing, dates back not more than a dozen years. It has accompanied the increased motorization of the farm. The main reason for its growth is a practical one: wide margins and consequent large savings. The purchase refunds (more accurately termed "savings returns") of coöperative oil associations in Wisconsin in 1931 averaged 15 per cent; in individual associations frequently 20 to 25 per cent is returned. In early 1933, seven regional coöperative wholesales in the Middle and North Central states federated into a central purchasing agency called National Coöperatives, Inc. Their aggregate volume in motor fuel alone was reported to be 14,000 cars yearly. By pooled purchasing through the central agency, substantial savings have already been made; perhaps an even more important fact is that in this joint project for the first time leaders of functioning, successful regional coöperatives came together for the purpose of envisioning the nucleus of a national plan. It is possible that this central agency may develop into a national coöperative wholesale society for the United States.

From Germany comes word that the coöperatives, like the trade unions, have been taken over by Hitler. Their officials have been replaced by Nazi officials; the rights of voting and of expansion are denied. In Italy the movement was ruthlessly destroyed and is now being reconstructed on Fascist lines. In Russia coöperation was naturally looked upon with greater favor. The societies were a state industry from 1919 to 1921, without much success; upon the inauguration of the New Economic Policy in the latter year, the coöperatives were returned to the coöperators, so to speak, though they are still largely state-controlled.

The attitude of governments toward coöperatives differs greatly, depending on the ruling motive or immediate necessity of the government. In England and Austria heavy taxes have recently been levied on the coöperatives: the motive appears to be the pressing need to renew the exchequer, from whatever source. In India a paternalistic British regime gives advice and aid to coöperatives through the Provincial Registrars of Coöperative Societies. In the United States farmers' coöperatives are exempt from income tax. The Roosevelt Administration, which has adopted coöperation in its general sense as a favorite catchword, is distinctly friendly to the coöperative movement. The oil interests, the fertilizer and the retail trade in their respective codes tried to outlaw coöperative savings returns as rebates, and therefore "unfair competition."

The coöperators objected, and the NRA sustained their objections. The President, leaving no doubt as to where he stands, issued, on October 25, 1933, an executive order exempting all bona fide coöperatives from code provisions designed to prevent rebates. In addition, the Farm Credit Administration has set up extensive machinery for extending credit to farmers' organizations, consumer as well as producer. It should be remembered, however, that liberal credit, from whatever source, is not an unmixed blessing.

The Roosevelt government is not likely to injure the coöperatives; rather the danger is that the latter will be sluggish to take advantage of friendship proffered. This appears to be a favorable time for coöperators to let Washington know in specific terms what they want.

The next three years may prove just how far we can go in the way of an alliance between the political state and a system of socialized industry which neither glorifies nor disturbs the political State.

The Higher Nationalism*

PEARL S. BUCK

I HAVE the greatest pleasure tonight in being here, and in seeing a group of people like yourselves interested in literature and in arts and in all culture. Even more than that, however, I am glad to be back again in China, a country which is in a peculiar way my own, even though I cannot claim as my own her race or her traditions. Fate has compelled me to be a sort of internationalist whether I will or not. I belong because I must to two countries, and am in a strange way divided. I remember my consternation as a very small child once when my little neighbor and playmate, a Chinese child, in a fit of disagreement over some game called me "a foreigner." I ran to my mother weeping and asking her, "Mother I am not a foreigner, am I?" She answered very quietly, "Go back and tell Bao Lei that only your outside is foreign. Your heart inside is Chinese." But I think my own idea of such things was best expressed once by one of my own children, who when she was four years old or so ran upstairs to tell me a guest was come. I asked her, "Is she a Chinese lady or an American?" The child opened her eyes very wide at me and replied in astonishment, "I dont know. I didn't ask her!"

It is not however about internationalism that I wish to speak tonight. In the first place, I am not really an internationalist. I am a nationalist. I do not believe in a future Utopia where the nations shall become one, when all people will speak the same language, live in the same kind of houses, wear the same clothes, have the same culture, even have the same laws and type of civilization. To me the world would be immeasurably poorer and life far less rich, if this were true. . . .

Therefore I would like to see the Chinese thoroughly himself, as I would like to see the American thoroughly himself, or the Englishman, and so with all peoples. I believe each people can contribute most to the world when he is most thoroughly himself, an expression of his own history, his own race, his own culture. In fact, I am an ardent nationalist, and believe in my own country. I have the great advantage of having more than one country, and therefore I am an ardent Chinese nationalist and an American nationalist, and I find no confusion in myself, having my dual nationalism founded in an equal respect for both my countries, as one respects both father and mother. If America is my motherland and gave me her body, China is my fatherland and gave me his spirit and his mind. My heart they share. . . .

THE first half of my life was spent entirely in old China. The old traditions are my traditions, even as they are yours. I learned the ethics of Confucius. I was taught how a girl should behave in the home and what her place in life should be. I was taught old fashioned courtesy and conventionalized speech. I lived among country people and among city people, with ignorant and with learned, for twenty-seven years. During these years I cannot remember that I knew at all beyond perhaps mere acquaintance, and I cannot remember even that, a single Chinese who had been abroad or who spoke English beyond a few words learned in school. The last thirteen years I have lived in a city where congregate for many purposes hundreds of modern Chinese. My neighbors, my friends, my associates today are three-fourths of them modern Chinese who have been abroad, who speak English, French, German, Italian, Russian, who know more about the literatures of the West than I do, who know more about the life of those countries than I do, whose demands are far more western than mine, who eat more western food, speak more in a foreign tongue, live in a more western manner, than I do myself. The contrast between the first twenty-seven years of my life and the last thirteen could not be more sharp than

* From an address delivered by Mrs. Buck upon her return to China. Reprinted from *The China Critic*.

t is, and this contrast I have observed with keenest sympathy and interest. . . .

To me the old China had and has, for it is not past, nor do I believe it is passing, its inestimable value. For dignity of living, the old China is unequalled. There is a very noble pride about the old Chinese. . . . The modern China has equally my admiration. When I consider how during these troubled years, when wars within and without have harassed; when there has been one of the greatest famines of history, when problems of social change and of the formation of a new type of government in an enormous country have presented complications beyond the imagination; when world conditions have been such as to drive foreign nations to selfish and self-protection policies, in such times there has been steady progress in China. Air lines and roads, development in building, improvement in health measures, in provincial and national government, and many other less obvious improvements have been going on in constructive development. I never come back to China from abroad without thinking with the utmost satisfaction, "Here is a nation homogeneous and mature and self-aware in every sound and natural way. Everything is possible in the future." I have every confidence in modern and young China. . .

I SEE the new patriot as the person, man or woman, modern, educated, alive, intelligent, who knows life, knows the world abroad, examines into what would be feasible and desirable for his own country and brings that and that only back with him. He slavishly follows no one. He knows thoroughly his own country, her people, her temper, her genius. He wants to keep China Chinese, but develop her into every modern activity, at the same time not losing her own individual stamp. Such a man will not think first of where he can live most safely and at the biggest salary. He will think, "How can I give my people what I have?"

For I tell you that China will never progress fundamentally until the modern men and women become real patriots, until they *dare* to put aside comforts and hope of wealth and living in modern environments, and dare to go into villages and interior cities and in a small and humble way set up schools, hospitals, business enterprises, humanitarian institutions of any and every kind and so seek to raise the level of the people. Hard—I know it is hard. I have spent years in such a life. It means very little money and no comforts and frequent dangers. *But it is worth it.* The solid satisfaction of seeing a human being helped and enlightened is the greatest in the world. There is no joy like it. It makes life worth living. I feel sorry for the person who never has it. . . .

And you have a people so splendidly worth helping. To me the common man and woman of China is the most noble in the world. I know them. I know their lives, their joys, their sufferings. I respect them with all my heart. Some of my truest, warmest friends have been among them—women who couldn't read a letter, but who were noble and unselfish, simple and good, living life the best they knew, and therefore superior to all those who know better and do not do it. Let no one of us dare to despise one of the common people.

This, then, is, must be, the new patriotism; this the creed of the new patriot: "I believe in my country. I believe in the greatness of her past, in the value of the changing present, in the certainty of a great future. I believe in my own people, in their heritage and in their genius. They are my own, second to none, most beloved of all to me. No least among them is too lowly for me to value, and to spend myself upon in any way which I am able. I will be ashamed of nothing, believing that if I and my fellows do our best for our country we can make right what is wrong, and develop to its height what is right.

"I dedicate myself to my country and to my people. If I can do no great thing, hold no high public office, I can do something for those around me and in my own house and home. I will not fear hardship and obscurity. I will build my life into my country, as a stone is built into a great edifice, not looking for recognition nor for wealth, but finding my reward in knowing that because I have lived in my time, a countryman of mine, a street, a village, a community, has been made better in this new day."

China today needs not the chauvinist who says he is not afraid to die for his country. China needs the patriot who is not afraid to *live* for his country.

There

THERE was his face white; there his hands
Folded; his hair was grey, was soft.
Touching it, I brushed back the strands,
And saw the silence of death's pride
On the cold forehead and pale mouth;
And there the lines: he tried, he tried;
And was now nourished there by drouth.

I spoke. I whispered: father. Sound
Dropped like an empty shell to ground.
I looked upon the hidden eyes
And touched his shoulder and felt bone
And coldness, and a hurt surprise.

"Alone, alone—are you alone
Here, there, out, lost in wind and space?"

There was the body; there the fears
And hate, love, laughter and the tears
Marked lightly on the placid face
In lines that shadowed the long years;
And there—at last—the grace, the grace.

JOHN VINCENT HEALY

The Banks and Recovery

HAROLD CHAPMAN BAILEY

IT is generally recognized that one of the major difficulties confronting the Administration is the problem of getting enough money into the hands of the people so that the goods we are so abundantly able to produce can be purchased. On the one hand, the incoming Congress is likely to call for the issue of greenbacks; on the other, the conservative forces of the country seek to forestall currency inflation.

Currency inflation would in all likelihood be comparatively ineffectual, since coins and bank notes have been relegated to a minor role by the great growth in the use of checks, which now liquidate 90 per cent of all transactions. Consequently the emphasis has been put upon credit inflation, where it rightly belongs. Both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations have consistently pursued this policy, hoping that artificially low money rates and abundant reserves would induce the banks to loan freely and therefore increase the volume of bank money or deposits subject to check.

So far the policy has proved fruitless. Whether or not the banks earn anything, they intend to be safe. Federal pressure has, however, continued. The R. F. C. claims that the existence of deposit insurance frees the banker from concern for his depositors' interests. To this the bankers reply, with entire justification, that they are perfectly willing, nay eager, to make sound loans, but that such opportunities are few and far between.

Unquestionably every banker wants to aid recovery, but there is no assurance that when each institution independently consults its own interests the resultant of all the individual efforts will be or can be in the right direction. In times when confidence is high, when prices are rising and loans are protected by constantly expanding equities, all banks will loan freely. However profitable these independent decisions may prove to the individual banks, their effect may be unwholesome and even dangerous to the general financial situation. This is conceded to have been the case in 1929, when the excess of bank money overflowed into the stock market. On the contrary, when times are uncertain and prices show no clear trend, thousands of banks refrain from new loans in order to remain liquid. This may be the only possible wise decision for the individual bank, and yet the cumulative effect is likely to prove disastrous from the point of view of public policy.

Nor is it commonly understood how little real control Federal Reserve banks actually have over the loaning policies of the member banks. Even in times of monetary stringency, with rates of 20 per cent obtaining for months at a time, as in 1929, a raising of the rediscount rate and the sale of government securities affords very little check upon the expansion of loans, but the Federal Reserve banks' powers of encouragement are even less effectual than their powers of restraint, as we have seen during the last three years. Accordingly the member banks may hold in their collective hands the power to aid or to defeat recovery.

This condition makes clear the uncorrelated control by thousands of independent bankers of the volume of bank money—the great bulk of our financial purchasing power. There is no sound reason why the control of this 90 per cent of purchasing power should not be a governmental rather than a private function along with the control of the remaining 10 per cent in paper money. Regulation of the purchasing media of all kinds is an attribute of sovereignty.

THE national interest requires governmental acquisition at a fair present value of the capital and surplus of the banks of the country, their consolidation in hundreds of cases and the setting of examinations to insure uniformly qualified management. The credit policies established by the Federal Reserve Board could then be carried out uniformly throughout the country. Public need, not alone considerations of safety, would be the test of credit expansion and contraction, and some classes of loans unthinkable today would then properly be authorized, for the inevitable losses would be spread over the country's banking system. Nevertheless, supervision by the Federal Reserve banks would ensure flexible uniform control of credit policy at all times.

In this way the control by the NRA of the production half of the equation would be supplemented by the control of the financial half of the equation by a banking system owned and managed by the national government. The reserve banks are in reality governmental institutions. So far politics has exerted no improper influence upon them, and there is no reason to believe that their management in the future will be less competent and disinterested than at present.

This development might not cure the depression. There is no assurance that the necessary velocity of monetary circulation could sufficiently be stepped up. There are fundamental weaknesses in the whole structure that the NRA has not touched. My quarrel is not with him who contends that the suggested remedies will be insufficient. My belief is that nothing less will suffice.

The Arms Industry—An Appraisal

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

THE armament industry is in the news. An alert reader will find an item on this subject in his newspaper almost every other day, and many sensational charges have been made against the arms makers. The following are a few of the charges that may be cited: Hitler's campaign funds were furnished in part by the German armament maker Thyssen and by the directors of Skoda, the French-owned armament company of Czechoslovakia. British aircraft makers accepted an order for sixty of the latest British military planes—among the best in the world—from the Hitler government, and delivery was prevented only because the British government intervened. Sixty British tanks were delivered to the Russian Soviet government at the very time that diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia were severely strained. The French furnished 400 tanks to the Hitler government. American airplane makers have annexed the Chinese as their customers, and, together with planes, have sent to China a group of fliers to train the Chinese in aerial warfare.

Stories like these can be multiplied almost indefinitely. Most of them are probably true. But what do they mean? What is to be done about the situation? Here is the point at which perspective is entirely lacking. Attention is centered on international sales, on the private manufacture of armaments, on the corrupt business methods of the arms merchants, and on the war-making tendency of the industry. The inference is that if the arms industry were nationalized and if international sale were forbidden, the chief obstacle to peace would be removed. This is a dangerous half-truth based on very incomplete knowledge of the situation. The subject deserves closer study.

The indictment of the arms industry for its international sales assumes that the greed and the business expansion of the arms makers is the basis of their international sales. This is only partially true. It requires great industrial skill and equipment and natural resources of a specialized kind to produce modern armaments. Only the leading industrial countries command these qualifications. For less favored nations it is far cheaper and much more efficient to buy armaments abroad than to make them at home. Only about ten countries in the world today manufacture armaments sufficient to sell to other nations, and about three of these account for 75 per cent of all exports. More than that, every country today is compelled to import some arms which another country produces more readily and at less expense.

The non-producing countries see this situation clearly, and nothing recurs more persistently in international conferences and treaties on armaments than the demand of these nations that *their right to buy armaments abroad must not be restricted.* The Covenant of the League of Nations, for instance, after recognizing that the private manufacture of arms is "open to grave objections", continues: "The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, *due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.*" In 1925 the League of Nations called a conference for the supervision of the international trade in arms. The dominant note of the sessions was the stridently reiterated demand of the non-producing countries that their "right to buy" must not be restricted. "Right of sovereignty includes right to buy" and imposes an "obligation to sell." The basis of the international sale of arms, therefore, is the world industrial situation and the insistence of the non-producing countries that no restrictions be placed on their purchase of arms anywhere and everywhere.

IN 1930 the world spent $4,500,000,000 for maintaining armies and navies. About $1,800,000,000 of this was expended for armaments. In that same year the international sale of war materials by all nations amounted to less than 56 millions. That is, *three per cent of the total production of arms was exported.* These are the official figures of the League of Nations. Now it is probable that the League figures are less than 20 per cent accurate. Even so, the highest export figure obtainable would not amount to 15 per cent of total production.

The inference is obvious. In times of peace the greatest expenditures for arms are *within* the Great Powers. International sale is a mere trifle in comparison. The international sale of arms is a normal procedure in times of peace and has no more—and no less—importance than any preparation for war. Most great armament companies sell to forty or fifty countries as a matter of course.

Now it might be easy to conclude that, since international sale of arms constitutes such a small percentage of total production, it is also a very minor factor in international affairs. This is not always the case. Arms makers, with conspicuous exceptions, know no political considerations. They sell to "all men who

offer an honest price without respect of persons or principles: to aristocrats and republicans, to Nihilist and Czar, to Capitalist and Socialist, to Protestant and Catholic, to burglar and policeman, to black man, white man and yellow man, to all sorts and conditions, all nationalities, all faiths, all follies, all causes, and all crimes." This impartiality of the arms makers frequently creates the curious situation in war whereby an armament company has provided munitions to the enemy as well as to its own country.

Furthermore, many sales are made when international friction has developed or when a war is impending. War might frequently be prevented if both sides were unable to secure arms. On the other hand, international friction is increased when arms are plentiful and more readily procurable.

The greatest importance of the international sale of arms, however, is attained in times of war. No great modern war has been waged without extensive international buying. How long would the World War have lasted without the exports of the American and Japanese arms merchants? Or the Japanese invasion of Manchuria? The recent South American conflicts would probably have been utterly impossible or reduced to mere liliputian fighting had not the great arms companies rushed arms and munitions to both belligerents. This phase of the international sale of arms is by far the most important. Ordinary peace-time exports of arms dwindle to insignificance in comparison.

THE indictment of the armament industry frequently emphasizes the corrupt business practices of its salesmen. They bribe government officials, raise war scares, lobby against disarmament, control or subsidize the press, secure high government officials as directors or stockholders, work hand in glove with powerful and unscrupulous bankers, and resort to other such devices.

All of these charges are true and can be readily substantiated and accompanied by chapter and verse, but to single out the arms merchants for this indictment and to forget the sales methods of business in general is not only unfair, but throws the entire problem of the peace forces out of perspective. After all, the arms merchants are doing nothing more than following the approved methods of most business men. Have we forgotten Teapot Dome, the scores of powerful lobbies in Washington, the tariff "racket," the hiring of college professors by the utilities and the subsidizing of the press and of text-books by the same group? Have we forgotten that reputable business organizations estimate the annual bill for commercial bribery in the United States at one billion dollars a year? Have we forgotten our bankers before the Senatorial investigators? Or, to go further back into American history, have we forgotten how the great American fortunes were built?

No doubt the arms industry belongs to the war making forces, because it always profits heavily in times of war. The attack on this one industry, however, might lead one to believe that it is the greatest and most outstanding enemy of peace. This, again, is a dangerous half-truth.

No single arms company in the world is devoted entirely to the manufacture of war materials. Even Vickers in England and Schneider in France manufacture electrical materials, automobiles, and a host of other peace-time products. The reason is not far to seek. The manufacture and sale of armaments alone is a very unstable business. In times of war or active preparations for war the arms makers reap enormous profits, but when peace returns it usually brings disaster because of the surplus of war materials, the sudden cessation of orders and the over-expansion of facilities. This is particularly true in the United States, because American-made arms are generally more expensive than those of the Europeans and are accordingly more difficult to market. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the American arms industry has diversified its products more than that of any other country. Remington produces not only rifles and small arms, but also typewriters, farm implements, etc. Bethlehem Steel manufactures hundreds of items besides arms. Du Pont declares that in the last two years less than two per cent of its total business was in military products. A large number of companies, therefore, which manufacture armaments in time of war, have an extensive business in ordinary peacetime products, so that they do not need a war to insure their own prosperity.

Moreover, in its relations with governments, the arms industry is probably less aggressive than the governments themselves. In pre-war Germany, for instance, the government furnished to Krupp heavy subsidies every year for experimentation and development of armaments. In the United States, Du Pont has almost been a government department, due largely to the government itself. This company secured the formulas for European gunpowders, advised and aided in the erection of government arsenals, and only recently declared that "it had been requested and encouraged by our Government to maintain facilities for the production of munitions." The first armor plant in the United States was erected because the government urged the steel companies to establish a native armor plate industry. And only recently the government urged the aircraft makers of this country to develop their industry to the fullest extent "in the interest of national defense." Does anybody believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt's pronounced navalism, which makes him insist on a $238,000,000 building program for the navy, is inspired by the armament makers? On the other hand it must be said that the arms industry is more than willing to coöperate with governments.

ANTI-ARMAMENT tracts generally conclude by demanding one of two remedies or both: nationalization and international control. They hold that if the governments themselves owned and controlled their own arms industry and if there were international control of exports, the menace of the arms merchants would be removed. This sounds reasonable enough, but it is by no means as simple as it appears.

The obvious benefits of nationalization would be to eliminate the arms salesman with his corrupting business methods. But what then? What is to take the place of international sales in a world that demands armaments? One solution would be the creation of a national arms industry in every country. That is, fifty to seventy countries would produce armaments instead of ten or twelve. Would that be a gain? Another way out might be for the non-producing countries to buy raw materials or parts and then to manufacture or assemble the arms in their own country. War could go on unchanged with that arrangement. Have the pacifists never found out that the arms industry of Japan has been nationalized from its very beginning and remains so with minor modifications to this day?

The international sale of arms is today so firmly established that an embargo on arms is virtually a *casus belli,* or at least an unfriendly act, while international sale, even in war, is a normal and accepted fact in international relations. Now what would happen to the international sale of arms under nationalization? Governments might conceivably sell to any and all customers in times of peace, but in times of war such sale would be a violation of international law and an unneutral act. Hence nationalization which included the prohibition of international sale, especially in war, would be a major revolution in international politics. Most countries could not wage war at all under this system, because their national arms industry would soon be unable to supply them with arms and ammunition. Furthermore, great wars would be impossible, because they always depend on enormous imports of war materials. Here then is the situation: nationalization with international sale in peace and war would mean nothing; nationalization without these factors is equivalent to disarming all but the ten or twelve arms-producing countries.

This consideration leads naturally to the problem of international control. Very little would be gained by international control, say, by the League of Nations, unless the League meant business. Supervision in times of peace is relatively unimportant, because international sale is normally a minor item. Control in times of war by means of an embargo would be very hard to achieve. In the recent case of Japan, when the world was unanimous against the Island Empire, the League did not dare to recommend an embargo of arms against her. All nations feared that in times of war this weapon might be used against them and they knew that they could not fight a great war without importing arms. Hence this expedient, too, promises either nothing, or else so much that it is impossible of achievement at the present time.

THE arms industry is rather a new subject for discussion. Snowden discovered it in 1912, and Liebknecht, Perris, H. Murray Robertson, and others followed in his wake. But the war distracted the attention of the world. After the war, Lehmann-Russbueldt rediscovered the subject, and the British pacifists followed him with gusto. For the peace forces it naturally offers dramatic and sensational materials for a vigorous attack. The business of the arms industry is undoubtedly thoroughly anti-social. It pays no attention whatever to the purposes to which its products are put; it shuts out all considerations except its business success. Hence it offers a magnificent target to shoot at with pacifist darts.

But that very fact is dangerous, because attacks on the arms makers divert attention from other and more important war makers. The arms industry exists because war is still a grim possibility. To get rid of the arms industry we must get rid of war. The world has come to recognize certain causes of war—nationalism and chauvinism, economic rivalry and competitive capitalism, imperialism and militarism, political and territorial disputes, race hatred and pressure of population, the press, etc. Does the arms industry lead all of these as a cause of war? Hardly. It is a war-making force and in alliance with many similar forces. But the attack on war must be waged in the first place on these basic causes of war if the world is ever to see the reign of peace. The present flood of writings against the arms industry generally consider it as an isolated factor. This is a dangerous mistake. War is part and parcel of our present civilization, and unless that civilization is remade war will not be eliminated.

Let us have all the *exposés* of the arms industry we can get; focus a searchlight on its devious paths; curb its activities wherever possible. But let us not be drawn away by this sensational subject from the more prosaic task of fighting the more important war-makers. Let the peace forces concentrate their attack on legislators who appropriate billions every year for arms; on the chauvinistic press, especially the Hearst papers, the Chicago *Tribune, Liberty;* on the army and navy departments and their militarist allies, including the American Legion, the Navy League, the D. A. R., and the *Army and Navy Journal;* on economic rivalry and high tariff walls; on the imperialism practiced by governments and powerful bankers; on military training in the R. O. T. C. and narrow chauvinistic education; on nationalism and the trust in armed preparedness. If all these war-mongers are eliminated, their ally, the arms industry, will disappear over night.

Not in the Headlines

Conservatives Lose 10,000

In the latest by-election in Great Britain, the Conservative candidate won by the narrow margin of 1,717 votes, although the seat was regarded as one of the safest. The Conservative majority was reduced by nearly 10,000 from the last election. In another by-election the Labor vote was 3,000 above the highwater mark of 1929.

High Prices Increase Tendency Toward Public Ownership

In an address before the New Jersey Utility Association, Professor S. H. Patterson warned that rising prices due to inflation will necessitate higher rates, and that the increased burden upon consumers will accelerate the movement for public ownership.

Victory for Municipal Power

Knoxville, Tennessee, voted two to one in favor of establishing a city-owned system for distributing electric power obtainable through the Tennessee Valley Authority. Complete returns from the city's 58 precincts showed a vote of 5,129 in favor of a bond issue to support the municipal project and 2,564 in opposition.

A Notable Appointment

Mr. William H. Holly has been appointed by President Roosevelt to fill a vacancy on the bench of the United States District Court in the Chicago area. Judge Holly is a former law partner of Clarence Darrow and has long been identified with numerous liberal and radical causes. He has been chairman of the Managing Committee of the Chicago Forum.

Appeal Harlan County Convictions

The 1933 convention of the A. F. of L. voted to condemn the conviction of miners on murder charges growing out of the Harlan County industrial warfare and appealed to Governor Ruby Laffoon of Kentucky to pardon the men. In the past three years thirteen Harlan County miners have been sent to prison, including William Hightower, 76 years of age and president of a United Mine Workers local. The convictions were obtained under conditions which are "a disgrace and a stain on the courts of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, in that these men's cases were transferred from Harlan County to Mt. Sterling, some 200 miles away, and, being practically penniless, they were deprived of presenting their witnesses at the trials." The convention declared that numbers of miners have "been actually murdered in the Harlan County fields by paid mine guards . . . and nothing evidently has ever been done about the matter and evidently never will."

Lieutenant Commander Hearst

A correspondent from Baltimore writes: "I saw something in a news reel yesterday that was almost shockingly brazen—Secretary Swanson presenting William Randolph Hearst's son with a commission as Lieutenant Commander in the United States Naval Reserves, because his father's chain of newspapers advocates a big navy."

$51,000,000 in Benefits

The American Federation of Labor executive council reports that trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. paid out in 1932 a total of $51,448,348.73—almost a million dollars a week—in death, sick, unemployment, old age and other benefits. Unemployment benefits alone totaled $19,970,556.86.

New Deal Costs 11 Billions

The total cost of the New Deal, including contingent liabilities of the Federal Government may amount to $11,735 million, according to estimates announced recently by the National Industrial Conference Board. This figure does not include most of the loans being made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. If the R. F. C. is included as an agency of the New Deal, the total estimated liability of the Federal Government is raised to $15,135 million.

The grand total of liabilities under the New Deal consists of the following items, the figures being given in millions of dollars:

Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works	$ 3,150
Agricultural Adjustment Administration	
Treasury Appropriation	100
Processing taxes, two years, estimate	1,000
Farm Credit Administration	
Government guaranteed bonds	2,000
R. F. C.	300
Treasury appropriation	185
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	
R. F. C.	200
Government guaranteed bonds	2,000
Federal Emergency Relief Administration	
R. F. C.	500
Emergency Conservation Works Administration	
Estimated expenditures, 1 year	250
Tennessee Valley Authority	
Government guaranteed bonds	50
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	
Contingent liability	2,000
	$11,735
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	
Total lending ability, minus items stated above	3,400
Grand total	$15,135

Nine States Bar Labor Injunctions

Nine states now have anti-injunction laws similar to the Norris-LaGuardia Federal law which declares injunctions in labor disputes to be against the public policy of the United States and prohibits Federal judges from issuing them. The states are: California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. California and Pennsylvania have added anti-yellow dog contract amendments to their anti-injunction laws.

From Factory to Schoolroom

The abolition of child labor through the codes promulgated by the NRA will have the effect of sending 100,000 children back to school, according to figures compiled by Miss Katherine M. Cook, chief of the Special Problems Division of the Office of Education. The states most affected, in their relative ranking as to numbers of child laborers employed in 1930, are Pennsylvania, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York and Massachusetts. At the same time, Secretary of the Interior Ickes declared that economies in schools are being carried too far. "Our schools," he asserted, "ought to be the last to feel the pinch of economy," and added that some persons are taking advantage of the "economic strain" to strike at the future of education.

Education Being Undermined

The Federal Bureau of Education paints a dismal picture of conditions confronting the public schools of the nation: "Nearly 2,000 rural schools in 24 States failed to open this Fall. Many private and parochial schools are closing and 16 institutions of higher education have been closed since last year. Estimates indicate that 1500 commercial schools and colleges have closed. In some communities free public schools have been closed and are now operating on a tuition basis. Because of lack of available funds, one out of every four cities has shortened its school term; 715 rural schools are expected to be open less than three months. Comparison of the length of the average school term in the United States with that of other countries shows that while this country has 172 days of schooling, France has 200, Sweden 210, Germany 246, England 210, Denmark 246. The prospects for 1933-34 are that one out of every three teachers will receive less than $750 in salary. About 210,000 rural teachers, or about one-half, are included in this category, while 40,000 rural teachers will be paid less than $450. Approximately 200,000 certificated teachers are unemployed; 18,600 fewer teachers, it is estimated, are employed in city schools today than in 1931."

The League in Decay

H. N. BRAILSFORD

WHEN no one cherishes dangerous illusions, it is unnecessary to dwell upon unpleasant truths. Most of us are waiting with the patience of resignation for the expiry of the League's Disarmament Conference. By miracle it may be revived some months hence, and may conceivably patch up some kind of convention. As to that, it is excusable to feel a measure of indifference. If any convention at all is reached, it cannot be better than the MacDonald Draft, and it may well be worse. The draft, however, can be called only by courtesy a plan of disarmament. It is a scheme for the reorganization of European armies on a uniform plan. While doubling the number of men whom Germany may keep under arms, it would in other directions bring about some modest reductions of no political significance. Its only real advantage is that it stabilizes the strengths of armies for a number of years and introduces the principle of international control. This, if it could be attained, would assuredly make for tranquillity throughout the world, and this state of mind might help to bring with it some temporary economic improvement. The draft then is worth securing even if it is not disarmament. That it can be secured, however, only incorrigible optimists believe. Even if the Germans could be induced to accept what is not, in any honest sense of the word, equality, and the French to swallow what is not, in their sense of the term, security, the fact remains that Japan will not submit to international inspection.

The real business at Geneva is not to draft a convention: it is to find a scapegoat. That is difficult only because there are so many candidates for the post. Hitler has offered himself with great public spirit. The Japanese, very quietly, and with all their usual modesty, have twice come forward. In many quarters in England there is a disposition to nominate Sir John Simon for this unenviable post. But the League by its rules can act only when it is unanimous. It is, therefore, as difficult to find a scapegoat as it is to agree on a convention.

Beyond this issue of disarmament one perceives another, which must soon present itself. Can the League itself survive the events of this ruinous year? Its system of collective security broke down in the Far East before the obstinacy of a well-armed Great Power. Its Economic Conference faded out in the summer, and now we must realize that even if it can secure a convention stabilizing armaments, it cannot achieve disarmament. It has lost in the process two Great Powers from its membership; three remain. It is then, at best, a minority group, representing three Great Powers out of seven. But the case grows worse when we survey the three. In the first place they were all victors in the World War; they form not merely a minority, but a partisan group. In the second place, one of the three openly proclaims his contempt for the League as an institution. One does not yet know whether Mussolini will draw the logical consequences from the speech in which he described it as an "absurdity." Why hesitate to withdraw from an "absurdity"? Why shrink from dealing it a blow? It may be, of course, that even absurdities have their uses for a realistic Duce. A study of his orations would reveal that he has used language quite as strong about other institutions even more venerable—the monarchy, the Church, even God himself. None the less, two at least of these institutions certainly survive. It is conceivable that the League may share their good fortune. The prospect, however, is not one to fill partisans of the League idea with enthusiasm. An institution which represented a minority might still do good work, if that minority were on fire with zeal in its cause, but with sceptics and scoffers for its leaders, what can it achieve?

THIS is, after all, no new situation. It dates in fact from 1922. The Fascist view of life was from the first incapable of reconciliation with the League idea. As to that, Fascists, to do them justice, have always been perfectly frank. An attitude of fanatical nationalism, which glorifies force and idealizes war can have no place within the League. In the early days, when only one Facist Power existed, one might argue that the majority was capable of absorbing, or at least of neutralizing it. Today that easy-going optimism has become ridiculous. There are two Fascist Great Powers, and several more of various sizes and types. A League without Germany is an unnatural monster, but a League with Hitler is a contradiction. It is wholly impossible that Fascist Powers should take part in any creative work for peace. That would be unfortunate but not necessarily fatal if the League were a democratic institution, based on the majority principle. But it works by unanimity.

It may be a salutary experience for the Socialist movement, that we should be brought face to face with this situation in all its nakedness. The existence of the League had bred many illusions even among us. What is manifestly, blatantly true about Fascist Powers is only a little less obviously true about every capitalist Empire. Such an Empire may practice po-

litical democracy at home; it may go some way in adopting the methods of conciliation and arbitration; it may be ready for some modest reduction of armaments. It rests none the less on power. It must have armaments to hold down its subject populations, to fence in the territories that it exploits and to protect the overseas investments of its ruling class. It may consent to some general scaling down of armaments, but it will always retain its own relative superiority. The League, if the need were to arise, would be as powerless to impose the general will upon Great Britain or France as it was to coerce Japan. The League was in many ways a useful institution, which deserved our support. Its very existence was a rebuke to nationalism. It could be used (though it rarely was used) as a platform for our ideas. Its relatively open procedure was an improvement on pre-war methods of diplomacy. It has done some admirable humanitarian work. It collects economic information very ably. It has stopped at least one minor war, and may repeat that performance. It might, with better leadership than it has had of late, do something to reduce armaments. All this it may do, and this is no trivial range of possibilities. But even this it cannot do while it is composed as it is today.

TO me it seems (and I know that I speak for a rapidly growing body of opinion in the British Labour Movement) that we have to make a sharp distinction between our short-range policy of day-to-day expedients and our long-range policy to achieve a creative Socialist peace. Of this latter policy the Geneva League can never be the organ. For that purpose we must have a League of Socialist peoples, which will not only guarantee each other in a system of collective security, but will also act together for the liquidation of imperialism, and build up a coöperative economic system. That lies in the future, but we ought even now to define it as our goal. A Federation of Socialist Commonwealths might exist loyally within the League, but it would be to it, and not to Geneva, that we should look for every constructive advance, whether in the political or economic field.

Meanwhile, it is evident that if the League is to serve any useful purpose, however modest—indeed, if it is to be anything but a delusion and a possible source of positive mischief—it must be reconstructed. It is a mockery until Russia and America enter it, and they will come in only if the Covenant is drastically amended. They will never underwrite the Treaty of Versailles, or guarantee frontiers drawn by force, nor will they pledge themselves to the League's apparatus of sanctions. It might, indeed, be wiser to take the Pact of Paris (the Kellogg Pact) rather than an amended Covenant as the basis of a reformed League. It would be a loosely organized society, which would serve to keep alive some minimum standard of civilization in international dealings while the world is composed of a medley of democratic, fascist and socialist states. More than this we ought not to ask of it, nor with greater powers dare we entrust it. To the Federation of Socialist Commonwealths within it would go all our faith and all our trust, and to it we would gladly concede an authority with which we dare not invest the hybrid League of Geneva.

Pan Revisits Wall Street

EAST of the clock of Trinity
The Street is cleft through walls of stone;
Steel leans behind the masonry,
And men are names or are unknown.

This is the Street where dollars dance
In rituals of whim and wonder;
Here are the halls of fate and chance
Where masters build and blind men blunder.

If Pegasus should ever lope
This Street, his hooves could not escape
The noose of Underwriters' rope,
The waiting snare of ticker-tape.

For even Father Washington,
Whose name men could not honor more,
Now finds his destiny undone
And points his hand toward Morgan's door.

Poseidon lounges on a ledge
Above all lords of lesser ponds:
To him his margin is the edge
On more than watered stocks and bonds.

How many pagan spirits lurk
Within this corridor, this strange
Domain where demons do their work—
With wires to the Stock Exchange!

This Street is Mammon's; here he walks
On pavements slaves have made for him.
Here is the vault where money talks
In conference with seraphim.

And though Pan hesitates and wonders
As fortune leaps and fortune falls,
He hears no sound but sullen thunders
Reverberating in the walls.

—CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

Education

TO speak with a fastidious tongue,
That truth might have a pleasing voice;
To see with eyes discerning
That beauty is God's heart alive and yearning;
To know by a first look love's choice,
And not go marketing here and there
At every little country fair,—
This would be Learning!

JEWEL BOTHWELL TULL

A Plan for Mass Education

THERESA MAYER DURLACH

WORLD PEACEWAYS — the name itself sounds Utopian, and yet we who sponsor it believe that the plan it offers is less so than most that look toward a peaceful social change. In fact we feel that the method it advocates and seeks to develop is a necessary adjunct to the peaceful solution of most of our social and political problems.

No one will dispute the fact that every change in the social order has been preceded by a long and usually painful period of education and propaganda. With increased literacy the process has been greatly accelerated, and yet it lags far behind the material changes that make the social change desirable. There must, in the very nature of the case be a discrepancy in the rate of change between material culture and social organization, but we wonder whether it may not be possible more nearly to synchronize the process and so avoid those periodic and cataclysmic changes in the social structure which take the form of war and revolution.

As a first step in this direction we advocate the speeding up of the educational process. We believe this can be done through methods of mass education or advertising. Mass education has been tried with great success in various fields. It was first developed in the commercial area and in less than a generation has succeeded in making the horse in this country an almost obsolete animal. This is but one of the many profound changes it has made in our mode of living. In those countries where it has been less universally applied the changes in economic life have accordingly been less far-reaching. In Russia the method has been used with remarkable success to liquidate illiteracy. I wonder how long it would have taken and what the cost would have been to achieve a comparable result by the more usual methods of individual education. Finally, as an example of pure propaganda we cite the use of posters and other mass education methods during the war. Almost overnight they changed us from a peace-loving people into a nation with but a single object—the destruction of the "Hun."

It will be argued that the situation is different in the cases cited from the one to which we propose to apply the same methods; that it is easier to sell an automobile than it is to sell an idea; that the ability to read can more readily be taught by this method than can the more involved concepts of history, sociology and economics; and, finally, that people can be aroused to hate and to the desire to kill with far greater ease than they can be stirred to appreciation and understanding and the desire to coöperate. It is undoubtedly true that the method suggested will not allow of an adequate presentation of any social or economic problem, but the essential points can be emphasized and should be so emphasized. This plan of mass education seeks merely to supplement, not to supplant, other forms of education. Through it we hope to arouse a far greater interest in social problems than could be achieved in any other way, and in many cases this will lead to the lecture hall, to study groups, to literature and in some cases to research. But even in its own right the method has much to recommend it, for it is the best and perhaps the only means of reaching the unwilling pupil. Practically every other form of education implies the consent of the person to be educated: this form, to be effective, must be almost completely pervasive—it must be seen everywhere, attract attention everywhere. It has other advantages as well, such as its simplicity and its flexibility. As one enthusiastic sponsor of the method puts it, "It is the only means yet devised by which one can give a message when, where, and to whom one pleases."

FOR the present, World Peaceways is confining its efforts to the international field and such phases of the social and economic problem as have a direct bearing upon war and peace. Only a beginning has been made, but enough has been done through billboard, radio, movie, and magazine advertisements to demonstrate the value and effectiveness of the method.

Mass education is most logically the next step in the general expansion of our educational system, which has proceeded so rapidly from the three R's to high schools, colleges, universities and adult education. We therefore feel that it is entitled, as are all other forms of education, to both public and private support. To this end we advocate a department or bureau of peace, one of whose main functions will be the dissemination of knowledge regarding social, economic and political problems, with emphasis upon their relation to peace.

In order to put our plan before the country and before the world in as effective and spectacular a way as possible within the very narrow limits of our resources we have built the "Biggest Book in the World," which is seeking the signatures of all who favor a department of peace and who are with us in our desire to put an end to "War, the Super-Racket." By this device we hope to capture the attention of millions of the rank and file across the country, men and women who are not easily reached by books, periodicals or lectures. We are convinced that we must go beyond the intellectuals to the masses, whose eyes are appealed to by the dramatic.

New Ways of Committing Suicide

What Would be the Character of a New War? By 18 of the World's Greatest Experts. Inquiry organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.50.
Cry Havoc! By Beverly Nichols. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.
The Shape of Things to Come. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Emily Post of the peace movement, devoted the first four decades of its existence to the etiquette of war. It discussed regulations as to the respective appropriateness of the right or the left hand in butchering fellow men on the battle-fields, rules concerning the genteel handling of bombs and grenades, and similar niceties of war. Arrived at the age of wisdom, the Inter-Parliamentary Union seems to turn from etiquetteering to more serious services. In answer to the inquiry which it formulated, eighteen military and civil experts pooled their knowledge to tell the world what to expect from another war. Some of the authors speak in the spirit of the title—what *would* happen *if* another war came; others, however, tell us what *will* happen *when* the next war is upon us.

In the preface Peter Munch, Foreign Minister of Denmark, summarizes the object of the publication. It is to "help to fire public opinion and its representatives in the parliaments and the councils of governments with the firm determination that next year's [disarmament] Conference shall be made to lead to positive results. All responsible statesmen agree that if useful work is to be done, the Conference must be backed by enlightened public opinion." There is, however, very little prospect that this highly scientific and technical volume will arouse any such compelling passion. In the basement of the League of Nations palace are buried the millions of signatures testifying to the enlightened public opinion which demanded results from the Disarmament Conference without having the slightest effect on that unenlightened body. Pacifist speakers and writers will find in the volume a mine of authoritative information, handily arranged for reference; but it is wasted on the public in general. Some of the authors use official disarmament phraseology, unintelligible to the man and woman on the street. No passion against armament will be aroused by speaking of "effectives" when men and soldiers are meant.

Among the outstanding chapters is Dr. Gertrude Woker's on "Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare". No technical English literature has been published on this phase of war viewed from the pacifist position. Dr. Woker's chapter fills an important vacuum in the scientific equipment of the English-speaking anti-militarists. Nicolas Politis, the Greek expert on International Law, expresses the essence of all anti-war wisdom: "The real policy of peace should tend to prevent war, not to humanize it." Most of the contributors, military authorities, statesmen, chemists, economists, and physicians agreed with Professor Langevin of the College de France that "only one solution exists—the suppression of war itself." We may hope for some steps in the right direction if the Inter-Parliamentary Union itself will heed the lesson of its present publication.

In sharp contrast to the Inter-Parliamentary Union's cold scientific treatment is Beverly Nichols' fiery and passionate denunciation and renunciation of war. This is the language to arouse youth against "mass murder of civilians." The author confesses having written this book in search of his own soul. He rages through the familiar topics with a fine frenzy, not ashamed to be emotional as well as intellectual. Well-known facts are presented from a new angle, neatly turned arguments assail age-old fallacies and unrestrained indignation rushes over the propped-up ramparts of the war system.

Refreshed by the unusual treatment of a much-used theme, I prepared to hail Beverly Nichols as the Pied Piper of Pacifism—when, toward the very end of the book I struck a sentence which destroyed all the logic, sense and sentiment he had so admirably presented. After having knocked out every inch of ground under the idea that war can settle anything, right any wrong, or do justice to any cause, Beverly Nichols breaks down and declares that "in certain circumstances I would fight in an international army, in an international cause, under some commander appointed by the League of Nations." A little further on he repeats: "I say that I would probably fight for an international army for an international cause." There is no other militarist, illogical word in the 275 pages of one of the most trenchant analyses and thorough rejections of the whole war system.

There is no hint what the international cause may be for which Nichols would find war justified, nor any as to why an international army would be different from a national army which "exists to break the law." *Cry Havoc* is too good a book to be sacrificed to a momentary brainstorm of the author. As it is, we must condemn it as damaging to the cause of peace. It is confusing to a point where young, and for that matter adult, readers are apt to be mentally seduced to excuse the employment of violence for some of their pet notions, Anti-Hitlerism, Anti-Fascism, Pro- or Anti-Bolshevism, defense, honor, class rights or whatnot.

Beverly Nichols passionately confesses the credo of intelligent pacifists: "I believe with every fibre of my being that the hour has now struck in the world of history when every man who wishes to serve his country must realize that 'patriotism' is the worst service he can offer it." As logical a brain as his must realize that the world-patriots can have no different creed. I earnestly hope Beverly Nichols will recover from an obvious mental breakdown and carve out the cancerous sentence from the wholesome body of his book.

H. G. Wells looked into the past, gazed at the present, and found he had written up everything recordable. Not tired of writing, yet too tired to do anything else, there was nothing left for him to write but "a short history" of the future. The gist of that imaginary history is, that, just as the last War to End War did not do anything of the kind, we may be sure that the next World War will really be the last, the one which will teach mankind that we have to pull together as one family if we want to keep our globe peopled. For those who have not tired of reading the millions of words Mr. Wells has pressed into the covers of his books, *The Shape of Things to Come* will be as welcome as his preceding volumes. Entertaining, startling things are said in it besides facts and fancies Mr. Wells and others have repeatedly told us before. It is one of Mr. Wells' most interesting books. The Ford family will find great satisfaction in his serious estimate of the Ford Peace Ship, which—Mr. Wells thinks—will be one of the few things coming generations will remember about the World War.

But however fascinating this short history of the next hundred

and fifty years, we refuse to accept its conclusion that we have to wait for another World War. We believe the building of the "World State" should begin without delay—and should begin under the capable leadership of the H. G. Wellses and similar practical idealists. It would be a fine thing if Mr. Wells would devote the rest of his life to active coöperation in the immediate erection of the "World State" of which he has drawn such alluring word pictures.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

Religion in a Decadent Age

The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis. By Edmund B. Chaffee. Macmillan. Pp. xii, 243. $2.00.

MR. Chaffee has written a stimulating volume on the social task of the Protestant church. He starts out by showing that religion and economics can never be separated, that sacrificial love always stands as a challenge to the traditional lust for wealth or power. He challenges the necessity of unemployment, of war, and the profit motive. He follows this by showing the duty of the church in the industrial crisis, the technique of preaching the gospel and the responsibility of the individual Christian. One of the most valuable aspects of the book is the treatment of the history and program of the Labor Temple itself, of which Mr. Chaffee is director and pastor. If every minister could thoughtfully read this volume it would help enormously to increase the social effectiveness of the Christian church.

In spite of the stimulating and challenging appeal which Mr. Chaffee has succeeded in making in these pages, I laid down the volume feeling somewhat dissatisfied. At certain points it is a little confused and vague. The author declares that the most fundamental cause of the present catastrophic economic breakdown is in the development of our machine technique. Men are being displaced by machines. This, it seems to me, is not seeing the situation in its entirety. The machine is of tremendous benefit to mankind. It is only because mankind is using the machine for the purposes of private profit and selfish exploitation that it has caused damage. The capitalistic system itself would seem to be a very much more fundamental cause of our economic breakdown than is the machine technique.

Again, the author says that we must have social planning so that the needs of all the people shall be put first. This is excellent, but just what does he mean when we translate planning from the printed page into the social order? On a later page he maintains that little can be accomplished by equality of income, and urges taxation of higher incomes. However, a little bit later he goes on to say that the great industries must be taken over by the state. It seems probable that unless state ownership can succeed in more equitably distributing wealth and so bringing about more equal income, it can have little value. The substantial equality of income is a goal which would probably make for a more equitable social order.

The author further maintains that the church does not have the responsibility of laying down concrete economic programs. It is rather the task of the church to proclaim righteousness. This may be true, but it is also the task of the church to promote economic righteousness and this means championing definite and specific economic programs. Even in the description of what the Labor Temple itself is doing one cannot help but wonder whether it should not actively try to assist in organizing the workers by doing something more than merely offering free rooms, for instance. If it is the duty of the church to proclaim righteousness, is it not a necessary corollary that it must help organize a righteous economic order? And does not this involve adequate organization of labor?

The author maintains that the Christian will not engage in class war any more than he will engage in international war. Here one encounters the difficulty that class war is a term which is very much more vague and indefinite than international war. Very often strikes are classified as class war, but the Christian may at times be called on to participate in strike situations. It cannot be successfully maintained that some element of coercion is not a part of the technique of promoting Christian righteousness.

The chapter on the "Technique of Preaching the Social Gospel" suggests that generally the indirect approach is best. Here again so much depends on what one means by the indirect approach. Were the parables of Jesus indirect approach? Was his statement that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than it is for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God the indirect approach? It might be argued that we have too much preaching in the United States today which uses the indirect approach.

In his final conclusion Mr. Chaffee maintains that the minister must not be in a hurry. Here again we are on debatable ground. With eleven million unemployed and the world steadily drifting toward another world war, one might raise the question, Why not be in a hurry? We do not have unlimited time to prevent the catastrophe. If the church of God is to take the most effective action, it must strike quickly and effectively. It perhaps needs to be in more of a hurry than it has been in the past few decades. Even the author himself in his final conclusion maintains that there is just a chance of averting a costly and bloody revolution in the United States. One would like to have seen a more definite and concrete analysis of the responsibility of the church toward the labor movement and of the definite steps which must be taken by the Protestant church if it is to be saved. The Book is a fine example of a sincere attempt by a liberal Protestant churchman to face the industrial crisis of our time. If it could be made compulsory reading in every adult class of our churches, American Christians generally would face much more of the realities of our social situation than they are now doing.

JEROME DAVIS.

WE RECOMMEND

Russia Day by Day. By Corliss and Margaret Lamont. Covici-Friede. $2.00. An informative diary by two travelers who liked the new Russia and tried to see it in its proper historic perspective.

Social Insurance. By Percy Cohen. Columbia University Press. $3.50. A history and description of the British system, with an introduction by the Right Honorable Neville Chamberlain.

Impressions of South America. By André Siegfried. Harcourt, Brace and Co. $2.00. A series of literary flashlights, containing the usual distorted expressions, but touched at times by insight, and always interesting.

Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution. By Frederick Engels. International Publishers. $1.50. A scholarly printing of the great work written in 1851, at Marx's request, for the New York *Tribune*. It has a fresh interest today in the light of recent events.

CORRESPONDENCE

From the Chairman of the I. L. P.

I HAVE just seen Kirby Page's article in your issue of October 26th opposing any common action with Communists against an imperialist war. He makes certain references to the experience of the I. L. P. in Britain which require supplementing.

The I. L. P. is wholeheartedly participating in the Anti-War Movement in Britain. The chairman and vice-chairman are members of the I. L. P. Although the Labour Party has "banned" it, several large trade unions, including the Distributive Workers, are coöperating, as well as many local Labour Parties and trade unions. Pacifist organizations like the Union of Democratic Control and the No More War Movement are associated with it. Despite occasional lapses, the Communists have generally kept their promise to refrain from using the Anti-War Movement for sectarian ends or attacks upon other sections. The movement has succeeded in mobilizing considerable mass support.

Kirby Page writes of I. L. P. coöperation with the Communist Party as though it had been a failure. On specific issues it has been a distinct success, e. g., in common action against war and fascism, in organizing the unemployed, in industrial disputes, etc. It has not been a success where it has been attempted in more permanent forms, such as continuous joint propaganda. The temperament and tactics of the Communists have there made coöperation difficult.

So far as the Communist International is concerned, the position is this. The I. L. P. approached the C. I., *not* for affiliation, but to see whether a basis of coöperation could be found. Negotiations are proceeding, but it is fair to say that the attitude of the C. I. has discouraged even those who were most hopeful. The effect of this, however, has been good rather than bad upon our membership. The efforts of the Communists to divide our Party have completely failed. We have not lost 100 members to them (out of our 23,000), and there is now a greater loyalty to the I. L. P. and pride in it than I have ever known.

Of course the Communists will attempt to win the membership of other sections. The way to meet that is not to fear them, but to show that your own way is the effective way of transforming capitalism into socialism. If Socialists coöperate with the Communists in that confident spirit, they will not suffer, and the common cause against imperialist war will be strengthened.

New York City — A. FENNER BROCKWAY

Kirby Page Replies

IT seems desirable that I comment briefly on the above letter from Mr. Brockway and upon the communication from Mr. Francis Henson printed in our last issue. The basic question is not whether it is *possible* to coöperate with Communists in a campaign against imperialist war, but whether that is the *most effective* strategy for Socialists and other pacifists. In the British Isles the Independent Labour Party answers yes, while the British Labour Party says no. Which strategy is proving to be the most successful in the struggle against war? To me it appears incontestable that the latter's policy is incomparably more effective than that of the I. L. P. The combined strength of the Communist Party and the I. L. P. is only a fraction of the power of the Labour Party. For the latter to enter into official coöperation with the Communist Party would be to lose much of its trade union constituency. The failure of the Communists to hold even one seat in Parliament after a dozen years of depression and unemployment reveals conclusively the unwillingness of the British working class to adopt the Communist strategy of violent seizure of power. On the other hand, the British Labour Party has made tremendous gains in recent months and may come into power within the next few years on a revolutionary platform. It would be sheer folly for this party to handicap itself unnecessarily by entering into official coöperation with the Communist Party, with its minimum influence.

A parallel situation prevails in the United States. The skilled and semi-skilled workers, to say nothing of the vast middle class, simply will not follow Communist strategy. It is difficult enough for socialism to make progress, but the movement would be infinitely slower if Socialists attempted to team up with Communists. After four years of economic misery, the membership of the Communist Party in the United States is less than 20,000, more than half of whom are unemployed, and only four per cent in shop nuclei, according to Secretary Browder. The added strength that comes from Communists is far less than would be the loss of alienating workers who are unwilling to become entangled with communism.

The taunt that we pacifists are afraid to meet Communists in open discussion leaves me unmoved, just as I would be unconcerned over the charge that we are afraid to enter into a united front with reserve officers' associations. The Communist *method* of securing peace can no more be reconciled with pacifism than can the *method* of military preparedness. Many army officers genuinely desire peace and justice, but are convinced that these ends can be reached only through preparedness for war. Likewise, Communists believe that an equable society can be created only through class war, violent seizure of power and the maintenance of a proletarian dictatorship by terror. The *methods* of pacifists, militarists and Communists are irreconcilable. Therefore, an attempted united front of groups with irreconcilable strategies is an unwise expenditure of time and energy.

K. P

Who's Who in This Issue

Oscar Cooley is executive secretary of the Coöperative League of the United States.

Pearl S. Buck, renowned author of "The Good Earth" and "Sons," has recently returned to China.

Harold Chapman Bailey is a member of the banking fraternity of Hartford, Connecticut.

Theresa Mayer Durlach is president of World Peaceways.

Rosika Schwimmer is internationally known for her work in the peace movement.

Jerome Davis is professor of practical philanthropy at Yale University Divinity School.

A Request

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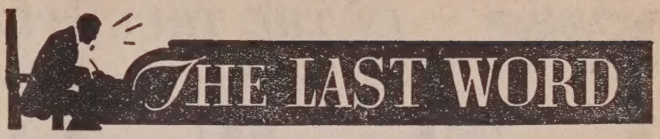

THERE were just two hours to spare before the train pulled out, and all the bags were checked down at the station. Since I have never been suited for that fraternity who stand in doorways out of the wind and see how close to passersby they can expectorate, I looked around for a lively movie. Two alone presented themselves to choose from. As luck, I trust, would have it, one was "Little Women" and the other "The Nude World, the Only Motion Picture of the Nudist Movement." My selection may have been determined by my haste, but anyway I had read Louisa Alcott long ago. . . .

Not that nudism has ever piqued my fancy; for perhaps in my youth I was, unwittingly, one of the pioneers, with enough experience, even if not in mixed company, to realize that man may propose but thorns and poison ivy have their innings too. People, though, have always puzzled me; and so, making my way through the curious humans entering the lobby with the same sangfroid they might exhibit in a dentist's anteroom, I found a side seat where I could gaze upon my fellow creatures and see their souls, if possible, unclothed.

I HAD an inkling it might turn out as it did; but I had supposed that nudism might evoke one little smirk, one titter of self-consciousness, at least one horse-laugh from a prurient onlooker. Maybe I could write a Ringing Editorial. But never in the history of the celluloid cathedrals was anything so completely dull to so large a percentage of an audience. Not that the patter was prosaic, nor the film not reasonably frank; but that all was so profoundly saddening. For it is an undeniable fact that in all the modern world of mechanized mankind there is no uniform so drab, no garb so self-defacing, as that which Mother Nature—the unimaginative old soul!—has given her children. Take any group of a hundred persons wearing the grim dress of an oldtime orphans' home: even then, each possesses a certain human quality, a modicum of individual character, at the very least a particle of what the "true story" inventors call "allure." But take off their clothes and herd them into the veriest fairy dell, and they become as undistinctive as so many hens' eggs. In the sleepy audience I counted nine men with lolling heads, while five young women sat pathetically humped over with chins in their hands, vaguely wishing they had had sense enough to stay at home and darn their stockings.

EVENTUALLY, however, an anaemic gentleman, leader of a well-known nudist camp (they said) emerged from the mothballs backstage and made an inspiredly tiresome address to describe what marvellous vitality might be gained from bathing undraped in the open air (and, presumably, in the open view, though he did not say so). He also insisted that life in his nudist colony was lived on a high moral plane. I am sure he convinced his listeners, for even when his stage manager asked everyone to give him a hand, not one had life enough left to smite two palms together.

The trouble with the nudists is not their challenge to convention, nor their desire to turn all human hide to leather. They don't know nature, human least of all. For nature in the raw was never the simple life, but infinitely beset with perils and perplexities. Nor was it really naked, since nudity is not a matter of what you have or have not on, but what you have within you. Unclothed savages are not nudists. Nudists are boresome puritans who now take off their clothes with the same self-conscious rectitude displayed by the earlier puritans who used to pile them on.

I don't care what they say. Nudists are no more moral than anybody else, and a mighty lot less interesting.

Eccentricus

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